

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY BONN

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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AMCONSUL BORDEAUX

AMCONSUL LYON

AMCONSUL MARSEILLE

AMCONSUL MARTINIQUE

AMCONSUL NICE

AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 11844

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, FR, PFOR, UR

SUBJECT: PS/PCF RELATIONS AFTER MITTERRAND'S MOSCOW TRIP

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS. IN THE AFTERMATH OF SOCIALIST PARTY FIRST SECRETARY FRANCOIS MITTERRAND'S MOSCOW TRIP, FRENCH SOCIALIST/COMMUNIST (PS/PCF) RELATIONS ARE ENTERING A NEW PHASE. AFTER SOME SEVEN MONTHS OF PUBLIC SQUABBLING, THE PS AND PCF HAVE COOLED THEIR POLEMIC AND ARE MAKING SOME MOVES TOWARD GREATER DIALOGUE. FOLLOWING HIS MOSCOW TRIP, MITTERRAND INVITED HIS PCF PARTNERS IN THE UNITED LEFT TO A SUMMIT MEETING; ALTHOUGH THE PCF HAS NOT OFFICIALLY AGREED, THE PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS INDICATED THAT IN PRINCIPLE IT IS NOT OPPOSED.

WITH MITTERRAND RIDING HIGH ON WHAT THE PS PERCEIVES AS THE INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION BESTOWED ON IT BY THE MOSCOW TRIP, WITH THE PS IN A STRONGER POSITION TO ASSERT ITSELF WITHIN THE UNITED LEFT -- AS POLLS CONFIRM THAT THE PCF HAS SLIPPED BADLY WHILE THE PS HAS MADE MAJOR GAINS, THE PCF SEEMS TO HAVE OPTED AGAINST A CONTINUATION OF ITS PUBLIC QUARREL WITH THE PS. THE UNION OF THE LEFT'S DOMESTIC POLICY MAY TAKE A SLIGHT TURN TO THE LEFT -- AS THE PRICE WHICH THE PS WILL HAVE TO PAY IN ANY SUMMIT NEGOTIATION. HOWEVER, FOREIGN POLICY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PS AND PCF WILL REMAIN AND COULD EVEN BECOME MORE PRONOUNCED OVER SUCH ISSUES AS FRANCE'S NATO MEMBERSHIP, THE EC AND SALT/MBFR. OVER THE NEAR TERM THIS UNEASY ALLIANCE WILL TAKE ON A MORE CORDIAL TONE, BUT THE SUBSTANCE OF PS/PCF DIFFERENCES REMAINS UNCHANGED.

WE DISCUSS BELOW ASPECTS OF MITTERRAND'S MOSCOW TRIP, THE PS CONVENTION ON PS/PCF RELATIONS, AND RELATED INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS AFFECTING THE UNION OF THE LEFT. END SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

1. MITTERRAND'S MOSCOW TRIP (APRIL 23-28): PORTUGAL. MITTERRAND'S CLOSEST ASSOCIATES HAVE TOLD US THAT HE RETURNED FROM MOSCOW CONVINCED THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NOT STRONGLY ATTACHED TO PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER CUNHAL, WHOSE LACK OF POLITICAL EXPERTISE AND PERSONAL INTRANSIGENCE THEY VIEW AS A POLITICALLY CONFIDENTIAL

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DESTABILIZING FORCE IN EUROPE. IN THE ABSENCE OF A BETTER ALTERNATIVE, MITTERRAND EXPECTS THE CPSU TO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT CUNHAL ALTHOUGH HE DISMISSES PRESS REPORTS OF HEAVY SOVIET FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE PCP AS WILDLY EXAGGERATED. IN HIS VIEW, THE SOVIETS ARE CLEARLY MORE INTERESTED IN WESTERN EUROPEAN POLITICAL STABILITY THAN IN NATIONAL COMMUNIST GAINS.

2. CSCE. IN HIS MOSCOW MEETINGS, MITTERRAND IS SAID TO HAVE BOUGHT THE SOVIET VIEW THAT A PERMANENT, FLEXIBLE ORGANIZATION FOR EUROPEAN POLITICAL CONSULTATION SHOULD BE ONE OF THE RESULTS OF A STAGE III SUMMIT. ALTHOUGH RELUCTANT TO COMMIT HIMSELF PUBLICLY, MITTERRAND IS SAID TO FEEL THAT THE EUROPEAN NATIONS REQUIRE THEIR OWN PERMANENT FORUM WHICH ALLOWS FOR SECURITY DISCUSSION ACROSS NATO/WARSAW PACT LINES. HIS ADVISORS ARE SUGGESTING THAT HE MAKE A ROUND OF ATTACKS ON CURRENT GOF FOREIGN POLICY IN WHICH HE WOULD INDICATE HIS VIEWS ON CSCE FOLLOW-ON. COMMENT. WE DO NOT EXPECT ANY IMMEDIATE STATEMENT FROM THE PS. IT SEEMS MORE LIKELY THAT MITTERRAND WILL TRY TO USE A FUTURE PS/PCF SUMMIT TO NEGOTIATE A JOINT POSITION ON CSCE IN

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RETURN FOR PCF ACCEPTANCE OF PS REFUSAL TO BECOME INVOLVED IN THE PCF'S CONTINUING ANTI-NATO CAMPAIGN.

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3. PS CONVENTION ON PS/PCF RELATIONS, MAY 3-4. SINCE LAST NOVEMBER THE PS HAS REFUSED TO ENTER INTO A POLEMICAL DEBATE WITH THE PCF, STRESSING THAT SUCH A QUARREL COULD ONLY REDOUND TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT MAJORITY. A DEFINITIVE PS POSITION HAD TO AWAIT A NATIONAL CONVENTION TO RATIFY MITTERRAND'S POLICY ON PS/PCF RELATIONS. THE CONVENTION, HELD MAY 3-4 IN THE MERIDIAN HOTEL IN PARIS, REUNITED SOME 300 SOCIALISTS TO HEAR A LENGTHY REPORT BY PS NATIONAL SECRETARY FOR TRAINING LIONEL JOSPIN ON THE HISTORY, CURRENT STATE AND FUTURE OF PS/PCF RELATIONS. JOINTLY PREPARED BY PS MAJORITY (MITTERRANDISTS) AND MINORITY (MEMBERS OF THE LEFT-WING CERES GROUP), THE REPORT CONCLUDED WITH A CALL FOR AUTONOMOUS DEVELOPMENT OF THE PARTNERS WITHIN THE UNION OF THE LEFT AND ARGUED THAT THE UNION OF THE LEFT PRESUPPOSES RULES OF BEHAVIOR WHICH SEEK TO "UNIFY."

4. MITTERRAND'S SUMMIT PROPOSAL. IN AN HOUR-LONG SPEECH MAY 4 MITTERRAND LAUNCHED AN INVITATION TO PCF GENERAL SECRETARY GEORGES MARCHAIS FOR A SUMMIT MEETING OF THE UNION OF THE LEFT. INHOPES THAT THE MEETING WILL SERVE AS PROOF OF LEFT UNITY, MITTERRAND URGED BOTH THE PCF AND HIS OWN PARTY'S LEFT -- WHICH HAVE PUBLICLY ARGUED THAT THE PS IS INCREASINGLY BECOMING A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY -- TO ABANDON "THE DIALECTIC OF DISUNION" IN ORDER TO BECOME MORE RESPONSIBLE. MITTERRAND CLOSED BY STRESSING HIS PARTY'S COMMITMENT TO ITS AUTONOMOUS DEVELOPMENT WITHIN THE UNION OF THE LEFT.

5. THE SPECTER OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. A STANDARD PCF

ATTACK ON THE PS DURING THE PAST SEVEN MONTHS HAS BEEN THAT THE SOCIALISTS ARE LOSING THEIR CLASS ORIGINS, HAVE BECOME A BOURGEOIS PARTY AND, IF CALLED TO GOVERN, WOULDNOT SEEK SOCIALIST SOLUTIONS TO FRENCH PROBLEMS. WITH A SUBSTANTIAL PART OF THE PS STILL FIRMLY OPPOSED TO WHAT IT CALLS "CLASS POLITICS" AND WITH MITTERRAND HIMSELF SOMETHING LESS THAN AN AVOWED MARXIST, THE PS LEFT WING (CERES) IS BEING HARD PRESSED TO JUSTIFY ITS CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP IN THE PARTY. THE CONVENTION'S
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RHETORIC, EVEN WHEN SHARP DISPUTES BROKE OUT BETWEEN MITTERRAND AND CERES, WAS CAREFULLY DESIGNED TO GIVE CRITICS TO THE LEFT OF THE PARTY A PUBLIC REASSURANCE OF THE PS COMMITMENT TO THE UNION OF THE LEFT.

6. THEORETICAL ISSUES. PS OFFICIALS INSIST THAT THEIR MAJOR CONTINUING DIFFERENCE WITH THE PCF IS THE EXTENT TO WHICH SOCIALISTS BELIEVE IN PLURALISM ON THE LEFT. WHERE THE PCF HAS BEEN PREACHING THAT IT ALONE IS THE GUARANTOR OF A CORRECT CLASS ORIENTATION OF THE UNION OF THE LEFT, THE PS HAS BEEN PREACHING TOLERANCE OF DIVERSITY. WHEN THE PCF LOUDLY SUPPORTED THE FORMATION OF A SINGLE LABOR FEDERATION IN PORTUGAL, THE PS MUTTERED ABOUT THE DICTATORSHIP OF A SMALL MINORITY. WHEN THE PCF TRIED TO SUGGEST THAT THE RECENTLY-ENDED CAMPAIGN OF COMMON MEETINGS OF THE UNITED LEFT SHOULD BE ORGANIZED UNDER A SINGLE ANALYSIS OF FRENCH ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, THE PS INSISTED THAT THE WORKERS WOULD NOT BE BETRAYED BY HEARING TWO SEPARATE ANALYSES AND PLANS OF ACTION. WHILE WE EXPECT THE IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF THIS QUARREL TO CONTINUE, WE ALSO EXPECT THAT A UNION OF THE LEFT SUMMIT WILL FIND A FORMULA TO PAPER OVER THESE DIFFERENCES.

7. FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. DURING THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CENSURE DEBATE OF APRIL 9, THE PCF ATTACKED WHAT IT CALLED GOF "REINTEGRATION INTO NATO;" THE PS REMAINED ALMOST SILENT ON THE ISSUE. THE DIVERGENCE BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES ON NATO (THE PS ARGUES THAT NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT MUST BE SIMULTANEOUSLY REPLACED BY A EUROPEAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENT) DOES NOT ALONE EXPLAIN THIS PUBLIC AIRING OF A MAJOR PS/PCF DIFFERENCE. WE SUSPECT THAT THE PS WILL CONTINUE TO DISTANCE ITSELF FROM THE PCF BY OPPOSING CERTAIN OF THE LATTER'S FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES.
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